/92 cont./

175 631 648 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Âbdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/ [693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 648 651 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Âbdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/377 cont./
compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inqâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regulatory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, wajh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

/125 cont./

*631 [152] forces; it seems that their only weakness might be the jealousy that divides them and sets them against one another.

What we are permitted to know about the internal life of the great commands, however, serves well to give us the best idea of the power of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids. At the center of their *631 712 [632] domains they erected first of all imposing fortresses that contain hundreds of wives, relatives, servants, and slaves; artisans work in the courtyards of these casbahs; on the threshold, Jews sell and lend at interest; all this activity sometimes makes of their dwellings, such as Telwet and Bouaboud, for example, veritable little towns in the heart of the tribes. Inside the enclosure of the casbahs one finds huge storerooms in which the grain harvested in the [343] [251] best lands of the valley is stored; it is there, too, that the subjects • [651] come to pay taxes in kind levied at the time of the harvest; finally, far from indiscreet glances, in the deep underground [697] vaults, stretch huge prisons, in which, in the vermin, the highway bandits, as well as the rebels mad enough to have tried to struggle against the all-powerful mountain lords, die slowly.

Most of the time, the casbah of the Berbère /Berber/ chief is not alone in rising above the humble houses of his subjects. Other dwellings, scarcely less vast and luxurious, also protected by ramparts and decorated with towers, appear in the vicinity; these are the residences of the kaid's relatives. Thus we see /126/ that this domination is exercised over the land not by one chief, but by an entire family.

On the great access routes of the mountains still other fortresses rise up, often less important, it is true. Their role is to guard the most-frequented passages. Such are the casbahs of Agergour and of Tagadirt n Bour on the Nefis, of the Aït Oughir and of Tazert on the roads that lead to Telwet. In the tribes farther from the center of command, the "khalifats" /caliphates/ of the master also live behind solid ramparts, and some of these casbahs seem by their luxury and their proud dimensions to express a will for power and domination. To this last type belong, to the North of the Atlas, the fortress of Amismiz of the Gedmiwa and of the Aït ʿAddi at Imi n Tanout; on the South slope of the

/133 cont./

175 *631 Moreover, at that time domination by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was exercised in a form very different from that which we observe at present. At the foot of the great chain, on the Dir of the North versant, in all the large villages that form natural centers of exchange between mountain and plain, were settled minor kaids entirely subject to the Sultan. Horsemen coming from Marrakech used to bring on every occasion the orders of the "Pasha of the casbah" to the minor chiefs of Agergour of the Ouzgita, of Amismiz and Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, of the "Agadir" of the Mzouda, and of Bouaboud of the Mtougga. In the tribes 175 located higher in the mountains, each canton had its sheik chosen *631 from one of the old families of the villages and who represented *634 the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/. Narrowly limited in his privileges, this sheik or "amghar" was often reduced to coming to terms with the council of old men and notables in order to make it accept the demands transmitted in the name of the Sultan. But [651] the demands of the kaid were so light -- an annual tribute in silver and the "hedia" /hadiyah, "gift"/ of a mule on the major feast days -- that the Berbères /Berbers/ scarcely felt the weight of the foreign authority.

On the south versant of the Atlas, north of Taroudant, the penetration was still less advanced, the kaids were replaced by simple sheiks, who maintained /134/ friendly relations with the small republics of the Dir and the summits.

Actually, in all the South of Morocco, the sultan's absolute authority stopped at the plains. By imperceptible transitions, while penetrating into the Atlas, one found the power of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weaker and weaker and the oligarchic institutions more and more developed. On the Dir or in the large valleys the sheiks governed, assisted by a council of notables. Farther on, it was the representatives of all the families, the "Aït Arba'in," who deliberated under the command of an "amghar" (1).

1. "Amghar" (pl. imgharen) Berb.: temporal leader who commands a tribe or a tribal fraction. In this region the "amghar" owes his power to

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*634 Waouzgit, on the whole versant of the South of the Atlas and around the massif of the Sirwa, had also kept, with their agadirs in ruins today, their councils of notables, the "Aït arbaʿin" or "inflas." Here, however, the institutions' oligarchical character was more marked than in the upper valleys of the Tichka, and, moreover, the amghars, despotic chiefs of the cantons, were more /137/ numerous and more ancient. That was doubtless the 175 result of an ancient penetration by the Makhzen /makhzan/. At *631 a time when the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ had almost completely *634 escaped sherifian influence, the country of the Aït Waouzgit was actually subject in the middle of the nineteenth century, doubtless for several generations, to the nominal authority of a kaid of the Marrakech plain. Customarily chosen from among the Zemran or the Segharna each year, this chief used to assemble his contingents and pass by way of Telwet, where the father of Si el Madani Glawi, Mohammed Ibibat, was then only a minor mountain sheik like the others, then he descended toward the Warzazat, Tazenakht, and the Zagmouzen, following the valleys. Among • [651] the minor amghars whose houses marked out this "makhzen trail," he was satisfied to collect the traditional tribute that they had assembled around them upon his order, at the rate of one peseta per household, without the sherifian harka's ever penetrating into the territory of the little mountain republics.

Farther to the South, at the edge of the Sahara, the greatest confusion reigned; the Sultan's armies did not get there at all; the power of the amghars was precarious, and, doubtless, the organization of the Berbères /Berbers/ was still more anarchical here, and disturbed by the frequent reactions brought on by the struggle of the sedentary peoples against the nomads.

Without going back to a distant period, however, it suffices [127] for us, in order to know the true situation of the country, to consult the notes of Ch. de Foucauld, who in 1883 visited the Dadès, the Haut-Dra, the Zagmouzen, today subject to the Glawa, and who spent several weeks at Tisint and Aqqa. The picture of the [114] local institutions that he traced out then differs strangely from the one that we first put together from the testimony of the servants of the great chiefs.

/222 cont./

*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "afous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
[619] things (4).

4. Cf. above, p. 259.

sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
•651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[798] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
184 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
174 whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured
178 the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

/226 cont./

*634 184 Again, let us cite the Aït Tounert, in the tribe of the Ida ou Mhamoud, /227/ who take their moqaddem in four families of the "taqbilt" to the exclusion of all the others. In the "taqbilt" of the Aït Gaïr, in the high valleys of the Gedmiwa, only the inhabitants of the village of Taounghast, in which there is a large fortress constructed a century ago by contribution from all the other villages, have the right to direct the politics of the valley and the moqaddem is always chosen in their city.

*634 681 652 V. The distribution of the fines. -- No act of the life of the "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ enables one to judge the strength of their republican institutions better than the distribution of the fines. When the traditional rule of the three thirds -- one reserved for the moqaddem, the other for the inflas, the third for the common treasury of the "taqbilt," is still observed exactly, one has proof of a perfect preservation of the oligarchic institutions.

In the western Atlas it is the moqaddem who is charged with keeping the accounts of the treasury (1).

1. It is the same for the amghar in the Todgha (Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, p. 128).

The money collected permits lodging guests, compensating for the minor services rendered to the council, giving small benefits to the poor, and above all celebrating the "tinoubga," festivities of alliance, with éclat.

*634 652 •[651] Sometimes, moreover, it is necessary, after exceptional expenses, to restore the reserve fund of the "taqbilt" treasury and proceed to a levy of extraordinary taxes or "frida." The "inflas," or a few eminent or respected personages, are then often exempted from furnishing contributions in money.

*634 652 178 In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the only region in which the institution of a taqbilt treasury has been preserved intact up to our day is that of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, protected, thanks to its remoteness, from the direct influence of the great chiefs. One still sees

/232 cont./

*634 passive resistance and only try to avoid any direct relation with 648 the representatives of the central power. On their side, the kaids •[651] generally content themselves with claiming the traditional [431] she-mule each year, the sending of which is equivalent to theoretical recognition of their power, and fear to venture in force into the region of the summits (1).

1. The "taqbilt" of the right tributaries of the Asif Nefis were still designated up to the middle of the nineteenth century in the fractioning of the Makhzen by the name of "Aserdoun," or he-mule, because their contribution was limited to a he-mule offered to the kaid as hédia /gift/ on the occasion of the great festivals.

*634 Most often the gravest peril that threatens the life of the 578 small independent republics of the Haut-Atlas and the Anti-Atlas 726 is not conquest by the Makhzen /makhzan/, but internal discord 628 and the development of private wars that have as a consequence the formation of soffs. Of all the montagnards, the Seksawa are the ones most inclined to discord. "They have," it is said, "in their hearts what is in the heart of the jackal, they dream only of devouring each other" (2).

2. F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the Mtougga command/).

Nevertheless private war does not attain in this region the importance that it assumes in the Rif and in Kabylie /Kabylia/. When it is prolonged, the defeated village sometimes disappears and leaves no more than a heap of ruins; but, on the whole, the social life is not altered and internal anarchy is not seen to develop as in the north of Morocco. Apparently the causes of discord are often

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466 476 The "touiza" is obligatory with regard to the taleb, the moqaddem, or the amghar; except in the case where a beneficiary is without resources, food is offered to the workers by the one who uses them. Inversely, one sees at present in the same [651] regions subject to the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ the [177] inhabitants of the village furnish to the kaids a number of days of "touiza" regulated by custom or fixed by the chief himself according to his needs. Each one brings his food and must often also contribute toward the maintenance of the kaid's slaves put in charge of the supervision of the work. This institution, which [178] was originally a work of mutual aid, has become in this way a [651] source of abuse, and its name is associated in the complaints of the montagnards with that of the "frida," an extraordinary contribution that a representative of the Sultan, kaid or caliphate, levies as often as he can in Berbère /Berber/ country.

* 634 652 [651] [681] In the independent fractions, it is exceptional that the /248/ "taqbilt" treasury is reconstituted by means of extraordinary taxes or "frida" paid by each household. One-third of the fines paid by the guilty, reserved for this purpose, most often suffices, and the Berbères /Berbers/ feel profound repugnance toward paying contributions, with which the "Bled el Makhzen" is overburdened.

735 794 431 [465] On the other hand, they acquit themselves willingly, either through the medium of the common treasury or directly, of numerous traditional tithes paid to the marabouts and the poor. In the Anti-Atlas, where all transactions and the measuring of harvests are done at the "agadir," the part for the saints of the country and their descendants, the "igourramen," as well as the salary of the minor functionary charged with watching over the harvests or the collective storehouse, are taken on the spot by the official measurer. The Koranic regulation of taxes is in this way observed in spirit, if not in form, but for the exclusive benefit of the local saints and of the zaouias, which are, as has often been said, an integral part of Berbère /Berber/ society.

[171] Likewise among the tribes of the Jbala of the Habt one sees the shorfa /shurfa/ and the poor benefit from the sum total of the legal alms. The montagnards of the north of Morocco "acquit

/249 cont./

423 171 there hardly remain a few pastures common to a whole tribe (1).

1. The independent Berbères /Berbers/ could not be concerned about the juridical distinctions established by the Sultans in the course of history in the capitulation lands, subject only to the zekkat, and the lands of "naiba" /military service/, which were, moreover, to pay off the contribution of the "kharaj" and whose soil belonged in principle to the Mussulman community. One knows that the Mérinides and the Saadians had considered the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ as "naiba" land, in order to be able more easily to burden the Masmoudian tribes with taxes. In our day, the term "nouaib" is applied indiscriminately to all Arab or Berbère /Berber/ tribes that are subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ or even to a chief. The "nouaib" are subjects, in contrast to the Berbères remaining free. It goes without saying that the state of submission to the Sultan does not entail, in the minds of the mountain populations, any diminution of their property rights on the land. Compare: Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," p. 161 and sqq.

423 794 621 437 In the villages, collective properties or the "habous" constituted for the benefit of sanctuaries are rare; as an exception, the manure deposited in the vicinity of the hamlets is often sold at auctions in order to serve for the maintenance of the mosques.

423 579 486 651 Tribal fractions often claim the cols and routes of passage as belonging to them as their own, and it is by virtue of this, it seems, that they consider themselves charged with maintaining security at the points where thieves usually meet in order to plunder travelers. Thus the "zettata," right of passage paid to the tribes by all who cross the country, and which has so often been regarded as an abuse, would appear in the eyes of the

/249 cont./
423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
579
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2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place,
[554] who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing
[625] policing and security.

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jema'a" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/272 cont./

*634 681 198 Now it sometimes happens that on the scales of settlement thus established there are substituted for the names of all the notables of the fraction those of three or four important personages, who give their approbation in the name of all. At the same time, the primitive rule of distribution of the fines is perverted. One third is apportioned to the moqaddem, one third to these influential men, who give themselves the title of "ʿayan" (1).

1. Arabic "ʿayān," notables.

[652] one third to the "taqbilt," represented by effaced and starving inflas. With the same stroke the common treasury disappears.

*634 671 198 A decisive step is taken when we see the traditional name of "moqaddem" disappear in the acts to make way for that of a personage henceforth called "the respected amghar So-and-So." Near the name of the amghar are found only those of the notables, the "ʿayan." An additional clause stipulates that the new master [681] of the canton will collect, in addition to a third of the fines, a [651] third of the ʿachour, the Koranic tax that the Berbère /Berber/ [794] republics paid up to then wholly to religious personages or to the [735] poor. Often, even, a measure of barley per household was [465] granted for the benefit of the amghar. Personal power is henceforth established.

*634 661 578 613 726 These beginnings did not exist without requiring long and patient efforts of the new chief. Before taking authority, the amghar has arranged for himself the support of the heads of the most important "ikhs," and by /273/ clever intrigues he has succeeded in setting aside those who were hostile to him or making them disappear. But almost always this internal revolution does not take place without combat. Another notable, equally rich and courageous, opposes the ambitious amghar with all his forces, with his "ikhs"; war breaks out and is waged furiously until the defeated one is killed or banished with all his people; his village falls into ruins and the victorious chief retains power as long as he has the strength to do it and escapes the

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
434 increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
661 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

• [651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
[486] which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the
[558] cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself -- at least publicly -- without failing. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the "taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
661 where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
721 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
57 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
[574] augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous, entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
[616] difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/284 cont./

*634 616 726 178 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy leff; thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among themselves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. • [651] Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules *634 616 of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit

*631 121 182 /321 cont./ trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true; the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them. It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

[651] [486] [485]

*634 *631 121 182 It is true that the possession of a major route of communication, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley, obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain, give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the near-by great chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
•[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the importance of the domains and of the command increases, the intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
[557] keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aît Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

/351 cont./

175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
• [651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
* 631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
*634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
[166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

/354 cont./

175 *631 *634 726 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his enemies.

175 *631 *634 616 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and becomes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi. He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission; nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct command of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im- [726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 *631 *634 *651 178 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious. Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the "ʿachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Bouaboud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no advantage a piece of land from which they get their living. Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in [616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disappeared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being effaced.

178 *634 616 726 *631 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the combined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi: Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

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/377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collection of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of E' Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

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*631

V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively reduced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "mouda ᶜ" or of "jemaᶜa," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aît Wasif, including the villages of the banks

/378 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a day's march away in the mountains.

Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial, consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the harkas (2).

2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aît Arba^{c}in in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly, "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed was the simple "jema^{c}a" of a village or of a group of hamlets grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and for-
159 get their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi. Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated, but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
• [651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*631 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance, use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

A. BASIC TRADITIONAL UNITS OF ORGANIZATION

The fundamental units of rural social organization are based, first of all, upon blood relationship in the male line and descent from a common ancestor, and, second, upon geographical proximity. Seven distinct types of units commonly occur, and some groups have as many as nine (see Tables II, III, and IV).

1. *Berbers*

a. *Nuclear Family*

The simplest social unit of Berber society is the nuclear family, established by a monogamous union, and consisting of a husband and wife, and their unmarried children. This unit is known as a *taka*, *takat*, or *kanoun* (Arabic) (all forms meaning "hearth") among the Shluh (Berque, 1955, pp. 37-38; Doutte, 1905); as a *kanoun* among the Beraber, and probably also among the Zenata (Querleux, 1915, p. 21; the native terms here have not been found); and as a *nubth* (pl., *nubath*) or "turn" among the Riffians (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143). This unit is of only minor importance, its main function as a unit resting only in the annual payment of the *tertib* (tax), this being usually collected from each *hauma* or "barrio" of the village on the basis of payments by each biological family (Deverdun, 1942, p. 303; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 143).

b. *Patrilineal Extended Family*

The importance of the nuclear family is overshaded by that of the second social unit in Berber society – the patrilineal extended family. This unit is made up of a number of nuclear families whose heads are united by descent from a common ancestor no more than three or four generations removed, whose name it carries. If this common ancestor is still living he heads the extended family and represents it on social and public occasions; if not his place is taken by his eldest brother. If this brother dies the extended family splits up into units under each of the other brothers. Thus, the extended family usually consists of a man and his wife, their married sons

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 47]